The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they 177
knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize 789
this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They [771]
rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his ab- [797]
sence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his
place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa [186]
recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of
the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes
are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be
very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and [831]
morality means proper sexual behavior. That the [585]
Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source
of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost
always marry in the Church /a few polygynists to the
contrary/ is a constant source of envy for the Negro
women, who feel great personal insecurity in their
free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cay-
apa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who
commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife.
As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but [775]
Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. [186]
After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

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The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

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At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no 771
family shrines within the home. Individuals do not 795
pray. It is only on festive occasions when many fam- [778]
ilies come together that the trappings of religion are [782]
brought forth. The statues of the saints will be dis- [796]
played in a makeshift shrine within the home which is [778]
being used as the gathering place. Some candles are [788]
lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the [273]
drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will
be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see
so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, [778]
Churches, and _fiesta_ activities give the Cayapa a much [186]
needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a
priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cay-
apa know that they are doing the right thing, that they
are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory 776
of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-361). Two that 186
are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling
of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The
first of these is _duende_; he lives at the headwaters of

the *Big [illegible]* in the *monte*. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. *Duende* is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /bubiiˀa/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /aˀchéci/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tambiika/ "heart," /kima/ "soul" and /ãlla ciiˀa tima/ "bald ghost." At death, the /tambiika/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big *fiesta*. The /kima/ leaves the body at death, in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds *per se* beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 *sucres* to over 1,000 *sucres*. [242]

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a *brujo* or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a *brujo* beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all 756
but rather the Chocó of Colombia and the Colorado of 554
Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland [186]
Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa
who have been instructed from the masters listed in
descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have
been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little
esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy [578]
between witches, and in popular belief they are said
to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that 787
if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one 753
and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces
the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical [754]
objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as
well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness
for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work.
The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the [755]
object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological 172
artifacts that were made by the people resi- 755
dent in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A 756

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "*moreno* . . . *indio bravo* . . . *enfermidad* . . . *brujo* . . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the *Indio Bravos* were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

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On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camarones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres. Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

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For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina=mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them: these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Rio Zapallo, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

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> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unmanageability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy; a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 201).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

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Manifest homosexuality would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

[[illegible]]